593 x 152 With reference to signs of affection, grief at the time of death, etc., the observations made for parent-child relationships hold true here -- mutatis mutandis.

3. Various relatives

602 The Nkundo's affection extends toward all members of his family, that is, all those with whom he feels linked by blood and common origin. These relatives are much greater in number than in Europe, because Nkundó kinship includes many more generations. The intensity of affection decreases with the distance of the degree of kinship. But the Nkundó knows and feels that he belongs to a large family, and he remains attached to all its members. He can find a home with any of them. This accounts for the fact that in the centers, men from the same village will look for each other and consider [621] each other "brothers." Actually, that is what they are, since in general each village consists of only a single kin group.

Although here, as in the case of brothers and sisters, common interests play a part in maintaining bonds between family members, the feelings of affection are not based on selfish considerations. The latter only reinforce these feelings, which are truly innate among the Nkundó. Among the various relatives the strongest attachments are developed between grandparents and grandchildren, uncles and aunts and nephews and nieces, male cousins and female cousins, etc.

603 Among the Nkundó as among Europeans there is a very strong affection between grandparents and grandsons, even greater, one might say, than between parents and children (the expression is: bɔ́na [30] l'onkáná, ndekí nd'ɔ́nkáná). But the relationship degenerates into compliance and weakness on one side, and into disrespectful carelessness on the other.

604 A Nkundó loves his paternal uncles and aunts and treats them like "fathers," and his maternal uncles and aunts like "mothers." Naturally, his feelings toward them are not as affectionate as for his parents, but they are an extension of these in an attenuated form.

605 The same situation holds true for the bonds which link him to his cousins, whom he calls "brothers" and "sisters." The children of his paternal aunt are his "fathers," however.

582 607

Example 12

Bakíkí (F) + Wanja (M) Wai (M)

Wai may always marry Bakíkí [256].

Example 13

Lompolé (M) Mbangó (M) + Njoli (F)

Lompole may not marry Njoli. Very rarely an exception is permitted.

Example 14

582 ●605

Mpónga (M) Mpinga (F) Bongonda (M)

Longanja (M) + Bolanga (F) Boékwá (F) Imonó (F) Ngoló (F)

Longanja may not marry his elder cousins, but he may marry the younger ones with the exception of Boékwá who is bónankáná and has a "father's" rank (see above).

Similarly:

Example 15

Mpangá (M) Efóle (F) Ilánga (M)

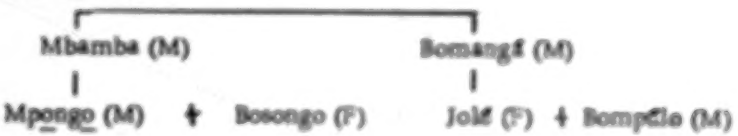
Isíka (F) + Botólo (M) Bonina (M) Esílé (M) Isongó (M)

Only Botólo's younger cousins may marry Isíka. Bonina is bónankáná, therefore "father," and consequently included among the uncles (see B, above).

[602] Note, finally, that the more distant the relationship, the less strict the prohibition, that is, dispensations and exceptions are more easily accepted.

The same rule applies to cousins:

Example 25

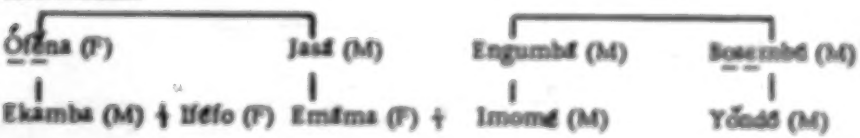


Marriage between Bompɛlo and Bosongo is forbidden.

As the degrees of relationship grow more distant, the obstacles increasingly lose their force, so that exceptions are more readily accepted.

One point remains to be noted, although it has already been mentioned several times. Cousins (male or female) who are bɔ̃nankɛnɛ are "fathers" to their cousins according to Nkundó law; they are therefore treated as aunts or uncles. For them the prohibition is very severe, especially if they are nyangɔ̃kilɔ́, "mother" of a relative by marriage. [601]

Example 26

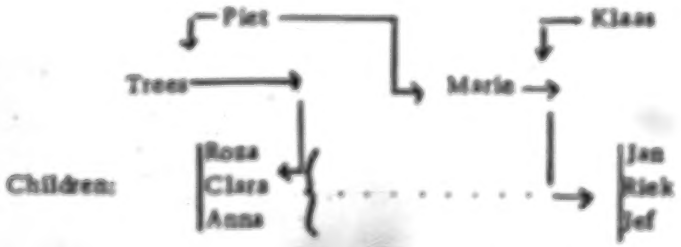


Ekamba is Jasɛ's bɔ̃nankɛnɛ and therefore Emɛ́ma's "father." Iɛ́ɛ́fo, his wife, is therefore Emɛ́ma's mother. Emɛ́ma is Yɔ̃ndó's bokilɔ́. Consequently, Iɛ́ɛ́fo is the mother of Yondó's bokilɔ́ and therefore Yondó's nyangɔ̃kilɔ́. Marriage between Iɛ́ɛ́fo and Yɔ̃ndó is strictly prohibited, though it is not prohibited between Emɛ́ma and Yɔ̃ndó (see Example 15).

Adulterous relations among these various persons will be discussed in Chapter VI, Article VI, 2. [260]

Rights of the Male Children in Relation to the Nkita of Their Mother

596 583 605 We have already seen that the right of succession and fatherhood passed to the male children of the sister, because she had been sold and had brought money into the family, or rather because she had a nkita there, a sort of guarantee for the money that had been received for her. Nkita-ship brought another right to them, namely, the female children born of the mother's nkita belonged to them; they could sell them and get themselves other women with the money. They could [582] not, however, marry them, since they were their cousins, and custom was opposed to any marriage between relatives. The boys could, [602] nevertheless, take the nkita of their mother as a wife, since the Negroes have no notion of affinity or relationship by marriage. The male children were, then, the owners of the female children that the nkita of their mother brought into the world:



These three girls, children of nkita Trees, belong to the three sons of Marie. If Marie had only one son, then Piet would have the right to trade the two other girls for money and to buy other wives with this money, either for himself or for his younger brother; but if she [Marie?] brought female children into the world, half of them belong to Marie's son.

583 604 If the nkita gave birth to no children of the female sex, the boys of Marie could resort to the husband of the nkita of their mother, namely, their uncle, nyangobika. If, however, he had no fortune, no money, [337] no wives, no girls to sell ... or only wives to whom others could lay claim and had more right, then they were disinherited, poor devils in society, and it cost them long years of work and much